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WHIG PROSECUTION.*To the Readers of the Register, particularly in the Country.*

MY FRIENDS,

THE trial in consequence of this prosecution will positively take place in the Court of King's Bench, which is held in a building at the top of King-Street, on the right-hand side of the entrance into the Guildhall of the city of London. The trial will be the first taken in the morning, and the Court meets at nine o'clock. Any friends from the country that may wish to see me on that morning will find me at No. 11, Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street.

Now, as somewhat illustrative of this curious affair, I will here insert for your careful perusal, the report of a debate which took place in the House of Commons, on the subject of the press, on Tuesday last, the 28th of June. I beg you to read this debate very carefully, and you will see the mess that these sublime Whig Ministers have got themselves into. Look at them, see them without a single soul to keep them in countenance. However, when I have inserted the debate I shall offer you a few remarks upon it, and therefore I will break off at present.

TAXES ON THE PRESS.

HUNT presented a petition from the National Political Union, complaining of the re-

strictions which particular taxes now imposed upon the liberty of the press.

CAPTAIN GORDON said, that with the view of showing the House what sort of ideas the Society from which this petition had emanated entertained, he would read them some of the publications which he believed it fostered. The first was a publication entitled, "*The Poor Man's Guardian*." From this publication the hon. Member read some paragraphs of very coarse and silly abuse, directed against the present King and his Government, and comparing them in their hatred to the press to Charles X., Polignac, and the other persons whose conduct had produced the last French revolution. The hon. Member observed, that this was a specimen of the knowledge, the wide circulation of which was so much desired, and that was a specimen too of the light in which these petitioners viewed what they called the liberty of the press. There were other publications of the same class. There was *The Republican* of Saturday last, which contained a paragraph directed against *all Kings and Priests* whatever, and expressly declaring that the writer did not exempt from his censures *the present King of England*. He must say, that for himself, he differed from the hon. Member for Preston, and was not at all inclined to give his assistance to the dissemination of works of this kind. It seemed that some Stamp prosecutions had been instituted against some of these publications. All that he regretted was that those prosecutions had not been of a different sort, and that, instead of being instituted by the Stamp Office, they had not been commenced under the direction of the *King's Attorney-General*, for the offence of having published *such seditious language*. He hoped that this matter would soon be taken up in the proper quarter; for if it were not, he should most assuredly take an early opportunity of putting the subject into the shape of a motion.

Mr. HUME had a petition to present to the same purport as that presented by the hon. Member for Preston, but from different persons. He should take this opportunity of stating what he had intended to mention when it came to his turn to present the petition. He was glad that this discussion had occurred, in order to afford the hon. Member who had just addressed the House, the means of expressing his opinions on the subject of the press. The hon. Member had attacked the small publications, and had read some passages which he thought obnoxious. Why, if they were so, the hon. Member ought not to have read them, for they would now be read by thousands who had never before heard of them. How could the hon. Member ask the present Government to prosecute these publications, when he ought to know that every Member of the

Government had, on former occasions, *condemned the very laws* under which the hon. Gentleman now required them to institute prosecutions? He (Mr. Hume) asserted that these laws were a disgrace to the country. He, himself, reluctantly obeyed them, and he did not wonder that others felt the same reluctance. When were these laws passed? Why at the period which immediately followed the fatal affair at Manchester. Even then it was not only *opposed by the members of the present Government*, but it was coldly defended by the proposers of it. The Attorney-General of that day acknowledged that he could not defend that one of the Six Acts which related to the press; but said that it was to be tolerated as one part of a whole, and that, taken with the rest, it ought to be adopted by the House. The honourable Member here referred to the speeches of *Lord Althorp*, in 1819, in opposition to the Act against the press, passed as one of the Six Acts, and he also referred to the opposition offered to the same measure by the present honourable Member for Hampshire (Sir J. Macdonald.) The House, too, though it passed the laws, at the instance of the Ministers, showed no fondness for them, but by the perpetual divisions upon every stage of the bill, Members marked their disapprobation of the measure. He objected to the tax upon small publications as a tax directed solely against the poor. Even Mr. Canning, who, until nearly the close of his life, never appeared as a popular advocate, said he could not defend this one of the Six Acts, and only consented to it, as he stated, on the grounds of the overwhelming necessity which at that moment called for such a measure. These laws, however, had always remained a dead letter. Even the late Government had never put them in execution. He had blamed the Duke of Wellington's Government for some prosecutions; but it was to their credit that they had never disgraced themselves by prosecuting these small publications. (Yes, yes.) Their prosecutions were not under the Six Acts; they prosecuted for sedition, but that was a different matter. As to the publications the honourable Member had read, *he had much worse*; but he should not read them; he would not make himself the medium of publishing them to the world, and spreading the poison they contained. Every prosecution of that kind tended only to spread the same poison more widely. (Hear.) He believed that if a bill were brought in to repeal the remainder of the Six Acts, the thirty-two publications of the kind complained of, now published contrary to that Act, would shortly disappear. (Hear.) He could no more consider the character of the press affected by those absurd writings, than he could look upon the character of the House as degraded by the strange and inconsistent speeches which some Members were in the habit of delivering. (Hear and laughter.) As all the evils of the lower classes were occasioned by

ignorance, those who recommended discussions to be prevented by public prosecutions, were parties to the perpetuation of ignorance, and to all the crime and misery which are its attendants. (Cheers.) During the prosecution of Carlile and others for blasphemy, he (Mr. Hume) brought down to the House the most evident proofs that every such prosecution increased the circulation of the works prosecuted. On one occasion, the circulation was increased from two thousand to twenty thousand. When Carlile and his sister had suffered several years of imprisonment, the right honourable Member for Tamworth, then Home Secretary, very judiciously let them out of prison (hear); and what was the consequence? Carlile's popularity fell away; and at the time that the last prosecution was instituted against him, he was in distress—he had not the means of subsistence. (Hear.) But since that time his circumstances had been greatly improved on account of his increased popularity. Two gentlemen, who knew both parties, *interfered with the Attorney-General to prevent the prosecution, and he (Mr. Hume) had seen a letter, written by Carlile to one of these gentlemen, expressing the greatest anger on account of that interference.* Notoriety was what he most desired, and from the day on which he was committed, the sale of his publications had been increased ten-fold, and was still increasing from day to day. (Hear.) *Immediately after he was committed, an annuity of 50l. was settled upon him, and a similar sum upon his wife, to enable them to bear up against what was considered the persecution of the Government.* (Hear.) In the same manner, those prosecutions of Hetherington would cause that person's publications to be read in every part of the kingdom. (Hear.) The petition which he (Mr. Hume) had to present was from the National Working Union, holding its meetings at the Bazaar Coffee-house, in Castle-street. The petitioners prayed for the repeal of the remaining of the Six Acts. He concurred with them in reprobating those Acts; and when he heard the allusion just made to what had been done in France, he must say that he saw no difference *between the Ordonnances of the French King and those Acts of Parliament.* (Hear, and oh, oh.) He said he saw no difference but in degree (oh, oh); and as the French people drove out Charles, so he hoped the English people would not be satisfied until they caused those Acts to be driven from the Statute Book. (Oh, oh, and laughter.) The hon. and learned Lord Advocate seemed to think that he (Mr. Hume) was not serious; but he would assure him that he was so. (A laugh.) He hoped that the time was not distant when they would be removed from the Statute Book. The true mode of putting down mischievous publications was by free discussion upon all sides. (Hear.)

Mr. TREVOR had never been opposed to the liberty of the press, but only to its licentiousness. The hon. Member for Middlesex had

said, that ignorance was the cause of the evils of the people, but he (Mr. T.) thought that the publications in question were the cause of a great deal of crime at present. (Hear.) He was no enemy to the dissemination of knowledge, but he thought that the press should be restricted so as to prevent the dissemination of sedition, disloyalty, and atheism. (Hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT concurred in the prayer of both petitions. He thought that the better course would be for some hon. Member to make a motion for the repeal of those Acts. He had heard no one say a word in favour of those Statutes, nor had it been shown how they could have had one beneficial effect. (Hear.) He wished that a motion should be made—not in the spirit of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down—not for the purpose of censuring the Government for omitting to prosecute—but for the purpose of restoring the law to the state in which it was before the passing of those Acts. (Hear, hear.) *He did not agree* with the hon. Member for Middlesex as to the effect of the writings from which extracts had been read by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gordon). *They could have no effect upon any man of common understanding.* (Hear.) He did not think that they were written with the intention which they professed; but they were a *weak invention of the enemy, devised to bring a popular Administration into discredit.* (Hear, hear.) He could not apprehend any danger from such language, which could have no effect upon any rational mind; but he agreed with his hon. Friend, that those laws had done much mischief, by the *suppression of cheap publications*, which no one could read without feeling the *greatest gratification*, as they showed the progress of intelligence amongst the working classes of the people. Nothing could be easier than for the hon. Member to bring in a motion for the repeal of those Acts; and he (Sir F. B.) did not think that he would find the sentiments changed of those persons to whom he had alluded as having opposed the bills. (Hear.) Yet he thought that, at the present time, the motion would be *inconvenient*, whilst a discussion was pending in which the attention of the people was almost wholly absorbed. (Hear.) He would himself move for that repeal, but that he thought it would not be justice to the administration, or to the country, to bring it forward until after the settlement of the other question. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL was far from acquiescing in the censure passed upon the Government by the hon. Member for Dundalk, for abstaining from prosecuting those publications. *The trash* which the hon. Member had read was such as could make no impression upon any rational mind. (Hear, hear.) As far as he had ever been able to observe, the licentiousness of the press was intended, by those who used the word, to mean the publication of any opinions *which differed from their own.* (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The true way to put down mischievous writings was to meet argu-

ment by argument. (Hear.) An hon. member had spoken of the freedom of the press in this country; but he contended that it enjoyed *not freedom but mere toleration.* (Hear.) It existed by the sufferance of the Government, which abstained from prosecutions, on principles of common sense when the Government had common sense, and through fear of public opinion when the Government had not common sense. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) There was one country alone in which the press was free—that is America, where every man may write what he pleases, and *there is there no Carlile.* (Hear.) The maiden speech of the hon. Member for Dundalk would make the fortune of "*The Republican*," and turn "*The Poor Man's Guardian*," into "*The Rich Man's Companion*." (Much laughter.) Many a penny they would owe to the charitable motive of the Member for Dundalk. (Laughter.) He (Mr. O'Connell) concluded by giving notice of his intention to bring in a bill to render truth evidence in cases of libel.

Mr. C. W. WYNN understood the opinion of the honourable Member for Middlesex to be, that every law for the restriction of the Press should be wiped from the Statute Book, and that every man should be at liberty to publish as he pleased any excitements whatever to violence and crime. (Hear.) He (Mr. Wynn) thought that the extracts which the House had heard read, containing such sentences as "*Down with Kings, Lords, and Priests!*" were of as mischievous a tendency as those which had instigated the peasantry in Kent and Sussex during the late outrages. (Hear.) Whenever such doctrines were inculcated in a tone of moderation, they were defended on the ground of free discussion; but when the writer assumed a bolder tone, as in the papers read by the hon. Gentleman opposite, then his language was said to be too absurd to deserve notice. But he thought that publications which instigated men to crime should be punished as criminal. (Cheers.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was not in the House when the discussion commenced, and he had not heard what honourable Gentlemen opposite had said respecting the late prosecutions by the Crown for libel. But he would freely say, that *a very sparing use had been made of the power* which the laws conferred, and that nothing had been done but what any individual desiring to suppress *those infamous publications* could have done by indictment. There had been *no ex-officio prosecution.* (Hear, hear.) The *two cases prosecuted had been sent before the Grand Jury*; and he looked upon those prosecutions as furnishing an additional proof of the necessity that in all Government prosecutions the Ministers should have *public opinion in their favour.* No Government could give up the right of suppressing excitements to violence, whether they be attempted by letters to individuals or by printed publications. (Hear, hear, hear.) But he

must say, that the greatest caution was necessary in such prosecutions, because there was at least one evil inseparable from them—that was, a wide and legalized diffusion of the mischievous matter. (Hear, hear, hear.) With respect to publications such as those which had been read, and which could excite only disgust and abhorrence, he had balanced the conveniences and inconveniences, and he thought it better to leave them to the contempt of the public than to drag them into notice by prosecution. (Hear.) When an existing law enabled them to put down those publications, because they were not stamped, he felt that he was justified in resorting to that law, although he did not approve of it when it was enacted. But he thought such excellent publications as those alluded to by the Hon. Baronet behind him were very unfit objects for the application of that law. (Hear.) He would not oppose (as we understood him) any proposition to repeal the remainder of the Six Acts. Letters were repeatedly sent to him, drawing his attention to writings like those of Carlile; and he believed the object of the writers to be no more than to bring upon themselves puff prosecutions. (Hear and laughter.) Sometimes it was very difficult to refrain from gratifying them, when those publications attacked all the institutions of the country, and even that of property. But he thought they might safely be left to the good sense of the public. If the public were prepared to overthrow the institutions, and to rush for plunder into the houses, shops, and palaces, no prosecution would be able to counteract those publications. (Hear, hear, hear.) But every labourer who earned his weekly wages felt that he had as great an interest in maintaining the inviolability of property as any one else, and every man in the nation was arrayed against those who endeavoured to render property insecure. (Cheers.) With those considerations he thought the protection of the public sufficient. (Hear, hear.)

Sir R. PEEL was sure the House had great satisfaction in hearing a gentleman holding the high office of Attorney-General give such a contradiction to the doctrines of the hon. Members for Middlesex and Kerry, that the Press should not be subjected to any repressive laws. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, who had said that *those publications exciting to crime should be dealt with as criminal*. He at the same time admitted, that those laws should be called into operation with the greatest circumspection. (Hear, hear.) But he did not agree with the hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Gordon), that the Government were to blame for refraining from the prosecution of those wicked and absurd papers, from which that gentleman read extracts. In this respect he agreed with the hon. Member for Middlesex, that their prosecution would be attended by the evil of an extensive publication. (Hear, hear.) In the case of Carlile, although he (Sir R. Peel)

had felt it very painful to be obliged to appear, as it were, conniving at that man's publications, yet he thought it more conducive to the public good to pass him unnoticed. (Hear.) He was sorry to hear the hon. Baronet opposite attempt to divert the public indignation from the well-known authors of those mischievous tracts, and insinuate that they were produced by other persons desirous of bringing the liberal Ministry into disrepute. (Hear, hear.) In the same way, when windows were broken by the mob, it was attempted to fix the blame upon the political opponents of the Government. (Hear.)

As to GORDON, Captain GORDON, the name and title are quite sufficient for me; and, therefore, I shall only observe upon what he said, that it appears to be his intention to make a motion to produce and sanction prosecutions by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL. Mr. HUME very sensibly observed that the Six Acts were all opposed by the men that are now Ministers, and that, therefore, they were bound to repeal the Acts now. He was very right in comparing those Acts to the Ordonnances of CHARLES the TENTH; and he communicated intelligence which will please every just man in the country; for though I disapprove of many of the publications of Mr. CARLILE; particularly that publication which was, in fact, a publication of PETER THIMBLE; that nasty publication, still, after a sentence such as has been passed upon him, who must not rejoice that protection has been given to him and his wife? Mr. HUME relates that at the time when the last prosecution was instituted against him, he was in distress, and that he (Mr. HUME) had seen a letter from Mr. CARLILE to a gentleman who had interfered for him with the Attorney-General, expressing the greatest anger on account of that interference. Next followed my friend TREVOR, who had never been opposed to the liberty of the press, but only to its licentiousness, in which turn of mind he perfectly harmonises with all the Attorneys-General that I have ever known, and with every other person who has had a hand in persecuting and punishing the press. Next came that old reformer

and staunch friend of liberty, BURDETT! He was of opinion that the *Poor Man's Guardian* and the *Republican* could have no effect upon any man of common understanding; and he believed, good man! he verily believed that they were a device of the Tories, to bring a popular administration into discredit. If this be the object of Mr. HETHERINGTON, in his two little publications beforementioned, each of which he sells for a penny a number, each having, as I understand, an immense circulation; if such be the object of Mr. HETHERINGTON, the pains he is taking are certainly useless; for, if ever there were an administration so low in credit as this, both at home and abroad; if ever there were one so much laughed at by both natives and foreigners; if ever there were one to excite such an universal feeling of contempt and disgust, it was the one, and that only one which existed for fifteen months in the years 1806 and 1807, which, as I have just shown in the 5th number of the *History of George the Fourth*, which was published yesterday, was fairly hooted out of place by the universal voice of the nation: the day of their expulsion was a day of jubilee; when we met one another in the streets, we shook hands and laughed out aloud. And why did we so? Not because they had done worse than their Tory predecessors; but because they had done just as bad, and had upheld all the abuses which those Tories had prepared for their hands. But I shall have more to say of this presently, when I come to the pretty speech of DENMAN. BURDETT said that "he was sorry that the "Acts had suppressed the cheap publications, which no one could read "without feeling the greatest gratification, as they showed the progress of "intelligence amongst the working "classes." Why, Daddy, I have a cheap publication. To be sure, I cannot publish it oftener than once a month. Oh, no, it is not that which you allude to: you allude, I dare say, to the great feelosopher, BROUGHAM's *Useful Knowledge* for the people. Why, Mr. HETHERINGTON gives them what he

deems useful knowledge: I give them what I deem useful knowledge; and, therefore, why not let us all work away? If they can have no effect upon any man of common understanding, and as they will hardly be given to the people in the mad-houses, why not let them run their gait? But here is something very curious in the speech of BURDETT: he is for repealing the Six Acts; he is sure that the sentiments of the Ministers have not changed since they opposed those Acts; but, THIS IS NOT THE TIME. As they say in the House, Oh, oh, oh, oh! And why not the time? Why, "the motion would "be inconvenient, whilst a discussion "was pending in which the attention "of the people was almost wholly absorbed!" What, then, this Reform Bill is to be the cover for every-thing. The Ministers can find time to come to the House, and get millions upon millions of money voted. They can find time to vote the sum of "99,300 "pounds for half-pay to officers of "standing foreign corps, and for allowances to their widows and "children; 27,174 pounds for allowances to reduced local militia "adjutants and sergeant-majors of "yeomanry; 147,778 pounds for pensions to the widows of officers for the "year 1831; 120,614 pounds for "Royal bounties;" the House can find plenty of time for this, and a great deal of other such work; they can find time for arming and paying yeomanry, as they call them; but not time enough for a short Act, consisting of a couple of hundred of words, to repeal Acts, which every member of this Ministry, at least all the Whigs of them, have represented as a disgrace to the Statute-book. And how long, how long do they think that this excuse about the Reform Bill is to serve them; as a screen to the end of their lives? they may, but they will be awakened from their dream very shortly; they will be roused up, if there is any rousing quality in them. Next came Mr. O'CONNELL, and he spoke some sense. He very justly observed that these people meant, by licentiousness, the pub-

lication of any opinions that differed from their own. He should have said, the publication of any-thing hostile to their *interests*. Truly did he say, that the press had no freedom in this country, but merely toleration, and that that rested solely with the Government which had common sense, it was guided by that to tolerate the press; that when it had not common sense, the toleration arose from the fear of public opinion. This is the true picture of the thing; but Mr. O'CONNELL made use of one word, for the use of which I am not in charity with him, he spoke of "*Trash*," as making no impression upon rational minds. I hope he had forgotten my *Twopenny-Trash*, which, I can assure him, does make a great deal of impression upon rational minds; and he will be persuaded of the fact if he will read the little volume of twelve numbers, ending with the month of June of the present year; or will only take the trouble to read the first number of the second volume, which number was published yesterday. He will there find some mention of Ireland also, and therefore I do hope, that when he next speaks contemptuously of these publications, he will not call them "*Trash*." And I beg to assure Mr. O'CONNELL that GORDON's speech was not necessary to produce readers, and, of course, purchasers, of the *Republican* and the *Poor Man's Guardian*. They are both read, and very extensively, without the aid of the wise ATTORNEY-GENERAL and his enlightened Ministers of Stamps. What is it to any-body what opinions Mr. Hetherington entertains? He entertains them of right; and it is a state of real slavery where he cannot express them with safety to his person and his property. I differ from him in opinion with regard to the expediency of resorting to republican government as a cure for our manifold sufferings: I hope that there will not arise any necessity for so great a change; but Mr. HETHERINGTON is of a different opinion, and who can refrain from commending his courage to prefer the expressing of that opinion openly to the disguising of that opinion, and to the living in the

consciousness that, though called a free man, he is in reality a slave. If I thought as he thought, I would express the opinions that he expresses. At any rate, he moots a point for discussion. If no one will argue that point with him, his opinions will prevail with hundreds of thousands of persons; and if any one will argue the point with him, reason will prevail. It is not convenient to me to brave the Six Acts with regard to the Stamp Duties. But I agree with him perfectly with regard to the nature of those Acts, and the great spirit which he is showing entitles him to the praise and support of the people. To every army there is an advanced guard; and in desperate cases that guard sends forth its *enfants perdus*, or men ready to devote their lives to cover the approaches of the rest. In this desperate service Mr. HETHERINGTON is a volunteer, and blistered be the tongue of the man who would utter any-thing concerning him in the way of reproach.

Next came the press's old friend, C. W. WYNNE, who is almost the remaining of the *élite* of the GRENVILLES, and he thought that those who cried, "*Down with kings, lords, and priests*," were as mischievous as *those who had instigated the peasantry in Kent and Sussex during the late outrages*. Ah, WYNNE! why did not you name them; why did not you name the "*miscreant instigators*," as the *Premier* called them, at the opening of the session, the moment he got into office? It was unnecessary to name them, I suppose, seeing that there was but one, and that his doom was already pronounced; or, at least, was to be on so early a day as the seventh of July!

Next came the magnificent ATTORNEY-GENERAL himself. "He would *freely* say, that a very sparing use had been made of the power which the laws conferred, and that the *infamous publications* had only been subjected to indictment; that there had been no *ex-officio* prosecution [hear, hear, hear, hear]; and that the two cases prosecuted had been sent before a grand jury; that this furnished a proof that the Government had *public opinion*

"in its favour in these prosecutions." Ah! say you so! What, then, you think you have done it, do you? Well, on he went to say, that as to those publications which could excite nothing but disgust, he had balanced the conveniences and the inconveniences, and he thought it better to leave them to the contempt of the public than to drag them into notice by prosecution. With regard to the Six Acts, though he did not approve of them when they were enacted, he felt himself justified in resorting to the use of them. But he thought such excellent publications as those alluded to by BURDETT, were very unfit subjects for the application of that law. So, so; what, then, we are to have a Whig Six Acts, I suppose, discriminating between different sorts of cheap publications! We may then have as many nice little Whig publications as we like. In short, it is to be like the DEMERARA affair (mentioned in another part of this *Register*), where the Whig Governor grants licenses for publishing; and when the paper contains an extract from *Cobbett's Register*, describing the fate of the poor Irish, the license is to be taken away. I defy them by any other means to repeal Six Acts, and to keep the exposure of the Whigs from being circulated throughout the kingdom. By-the-by, there is a placard sticking up all over London, advertising for a band of greater hypocrites than the Whigs; and this placard is not the work of the Tories, but the work of those who are sincere in their wish for a Parliamentary Reform. After the foregoing, this sublime law officer is reported to have said, "that letters were repeatedly sent to him, drawing his attention to writings like those of CARLILE, and he believed the object of the writers to be no more than to bring upon themselves puff-prosecutions; but that he thought they might be safely left to the good sense of the public." Oh! they may be safely left to the good sense of the public; they are like those of CARLILE, and he crams CARLILE two years into jail, and imposes upon him ten years of bonds. Judicious and just law-officer! Can a ministry stand with a law-officer like

this, the object of its selection. This may be a false report of his speech; but I find it in the *Morning Chronicle* as I have given it above. Here, then, is the end of all the attempts to trammel the press. Here is the result of all the laws to stifle our voices: men set the laws at defiance, and the ATTORNEY-GENERAL declares that he thinks it best to let them go on.

PEEL, the son of the spinning-jenny man; the author of the paper-money bill of 1819; PEEL, the opposer, for fifteen years, of the claims of the Catholics, and who at last brought in a bill to grant more to the Catholics than the Catholics had ever demanded; this PEEL closed the debate; and such was the situation of the Ministers, that even he bantered them off the boards; congratulated them upon having discovered, not that they were in office, but that those acts which they had opposed when they were out of office were excellent Acts of Parliament and ought to be kept in force. The Whig faction never was given to blush; and some people think that, like frogs, they have white blood in their veins. One thing is certain; that if blushing had been in their nature, PEEL, even this PEEL, would have made them blush themselves to death.

I now leave the Liberal Whig Prosecution for the present. We shall know more of it before the next *Register* comes from the press; but, in the meanwhile, let me inform my readers, as I may not have another opportunity of doing it in this *Register*, that the French Press has poured on upon the Whig faction with animadversions enough to make it crawl back within its shell: it has exposed its imbecility, its insincerity, and all its other inherent qualities to the whole of Europe; and, it hits upon the head that nail which drives so well every-where; namely, the proof of its insincerity contained in its prosecution of me; the proof that it does not want reform; the proof that it hates reform in its heart; that it will give as little of it as it possibly can! and that it hopes to be able by the name of reform to retain, in full force, all the real evils that the people complain of.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
EARL OF RADNOR.

*On the reported Intention of the Lords
to reject the Reform Bill.*

Kensington, 29th June, 1831.

MY LORD,

It is reported that the Peers mean to reject the Reform Bill, or, so to alter it as to render it such a thing as the people would behold with disdain. I hope that these rumours are groundless; because, as your Lordship well knows, I have always wished, and still wish, that the affairs, that the troubled affairs of the country may be settled justly and in a peaceable manner. A hundred times have I said in print, that of all the strange things in this world, the strangest, to my apprehension, was the fact that the nobility and gentlemen of England should hug to their bosoms the loan-jobbing crew; and all the swarms of tax-eaters that were putting their lives and estates in peril, while they cast from them the proffered friendship of those millions and millions of industrious people, whose friendship, and that alone, would at last be able to preserve those titles and estates.

As your Lordship well knows, these are no new thoughts of mine: I have always been of opinion that a real and honest reform of the Parliament would be of more advantage to the order of nobility than to any other part of the community. Thirteen years ago, and that, too, from across the Atlantic, I addressed your Lordship upon this very subject, and expressed to you the sentiments contained in the following letter; and which letter, if written yesterday, instead of thirteen years ago, could not have been more apt to this great purpose: nay, if the date were suppressed, and your present title put in the place of that which you then bore, the public in general would believe that the letter had been written within these ten days at farthest. To beseech your Lordship seriously to reflect on the contents of this letter is, I know wholly unnecessary:

you have reflected on them long ago, and, indeed, it was this very letter that produced in your mind a conviction that a real reform of the Parliament was as necessary to the nobles as it was to the farmer, the tradesman, and the labouring man.

There are some few circumstances which have changed since the date of the letter, and particularly the important circumstance that your Lordship, who was then opposed to reform, is now amongst the foremost of his friends. After I have inserted the letter, I shall, if I have room, make a few observations on these altered circumstances. If I have not room, I shall leave the whole as it is; for, indeed, any comment at all is hardly necessary.

TO

LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE,

*On the questions, whether a Reform of
the Parliament would tend to injure
and degrade the Nobility, or whether
it would tend to produce the contrary
effect.*

North Hampstead, Long Island,
22nd Aug. 1817.

MY LORD,

It is very natural that those, who, no matter from what causes, are placed in a situation above the mass of mankind, should be very backward to listen to any proposition, the tendency of which is to bring them down nearer to the common level; and, as I am well convinced that the fear of such a consequence has had great weight with many disinterested men amongst the nobility in England, and has, in fact, made the enemies of a Reform of the Parliament, it appears to me to be useful to show that this fear is groundless, and that a Reform is not less necessary to prevent injury and degradation to the order to which your Lordship belongs, than it is to secure to the people any chance of liberty and happiness. In the discussion of this subject I address myself to your Lordship, because of all the noblemen in England I have

observed not one whose conduct has been more strongly marked with integrity and sound sense ; because I know your Lordship to be sincere in all your professions ; because I have always seen you acting beyond your promises ; because, if you differ from us upon the great question of Reform, you have proved that you abhor the mode of answering us which has been adopted ; and, finally, because, I have, for many years, had, and still have, a greater respect and regard for your Lordship than for almost any other man that I know in the world.

When, a few Numbers back, I was endeavouring to do justice to the magistrates of Berkshire, who had interposed in behalf of the STATE PRISONERS in the jail of Reading, I was not aware that your Lordship was one of those magistrates ; and it is with great pleasure, though not with surprise, that I now perceive that such was the fact. It is with still greater pleasure that I see you standing forward to obtain a list of the *names, places of arrest, and places of imprisonment* of those victims of conscious oppression ; and my satisfaction on this score is greatly heightened by the reflection, that, long before I received an account of this motion on the part of your Lordship, I had sent off for publication in England that Register in which I had laid down a *plan* for obtaining possession of all the *names* and other circumstances sought to be obtained by the motion of your Lordship. This coincidence is extremely gratifying to me ; but I hope that *my mode* of obtaining the desired facts will be adopted by *you*, you have it completely in your power to give effect to every part of the plan. That which I have said, that *I would do if I were a member of Parliament*, you have the power to do, and that, too, not only without any risk, but consistently with your duty, especially after the *refusal* of the Ministers to inform the Parliament of the *names of the victims*.

You are satisfied, my Lord, of the injustice of these proceedings ; that you have explicitly and manfully declared ; but this is not all that is required. It

is not enough to cry out against the *injustice* without a great effort to obtain *justice*. *Impunity* is what the Ministers are endeavouring to provide for ; but if these deeds be suffered to go unpunished, and the victims to go without compensation, to what purpose do we complain ? A notification in your name would bring you from the relations and the friends of the victims all the facts which you sought to obtain from the oppressors. How little trouble, how trifling an expense, it would cause, to come at all these facts, and to cause them to be put upon record ! How much greater and more durable the effect, that would be produced in this way, than in any other way that can be imagined ! And, what apology has any member of Parliament who disapproves of the despotic acts, to offer for the neglect of such a duty ? Shall he plead his having attempted to do that which he knew he could *not effect* ; shall he plead this in excuse for not having attempted to do that which he knew he *could effect* ? I am not aware of any manner in which a summer could be spent more honourably, more happily, or more advantageously to the country, than in visiting and relieving the wives, children, and parents of the victims of tyranny. "I was sick and in prison and you visited me not," is to be one of the charges against those who are to be hurled into everlasting fire. And when Jesus Christ spoke of persons *in prison*, he certainly did not mean thieves and murderers, but persons put into prison *unjustly* ; innocent sufferers ; men who would have been acquitted if brought to a fair trial. Your Lordship *would* have visited the victims in Reading jail ; but, though unable to do that, you may visit their wives, children and parents ; and you have it fully in your power to make and put upon the Journals in Parliament a record of all the circumstances of every case. It has been the uniform characteristic of your Lordship's undertakings of a public nature, that they have not only exhibited great ability, but that they have produced *great effect*. And this has been owing to the *perseverance* with which you have

conducted them. Only undertake the task which I propose, and you will do more good than you have ever before been able to do.

Are you afraid of the charge of *singularity*? Are you afraid of the charge of *thrusting yourself forward*? What soldier or sailor was ever *afraid* of such a charge? Why, my Lord, HAMPDEN was the only man who stood forward upon that memorable occasion. He was not *afraid* of being singular. Look over the names of the illustrious friends of freedom in England, and you will find, that, if the owners of those names had been afraid of the charge of *thrusting themselves forward*, they would, long ago have been as completely forgotten as are the common-place petty tyrants of their day. Indeed, what is *fame* but *singularity* in the performance of great acts? It is in times like these that men must distinguish themselves, or never. To live along with the possession of a great estate, and to die without any act whereby to be remembered, is not to surpass very far in the scale of creation one of Farmer Gearing's big cows, which you daily see feeding with so much ease and pleasure in the rich pastures of Coleshill.

But, my Lord, let me not act the part of the deceiver. Truth forbids me to address your Lordship as if I supposed that the performance of the task I have here spoken of, even if the manner of that performance were fully equal to that of any-thing you have ever undertaken, would be, in the end, attended with good to the country, unless you were to become an advocate for that cause in which these victims are suffering. That cause is, the *cause of Reform*. The struggle for this object has been going on for many years. It has, at last, led to this result; that its enemies, defeated by argument, operating upon the minds of an enlightened and suffering people, have resorted to open despotic force. As long as that force can be maintained, those enemies will prevail; but, *not one moment longer*. The thing has now gone *too far* even to be recalled. The people are really and truly *enlightened* as far as relates to

their *rights* and to the cause of their manifold sufferings. This knowledge, which is of vast importance, is never to be rooted out of their minds. They were peaceable and patient in the praying for their rights; but it was clear enough, that, in the end, if their repeated supplications had failed, or, if they could not have been answered by *reasoning*, blows *must have followed*. There was *no answer* for them. *Abuse* was all the answer. It was, therefore, manifest, that in the end, Reform or blows must have been the consequence; and, I am, at all times, ready to allow, that the choice of the Parliament lay between *Reform* and *despotism*. Despotism of a mixed kind at first, and, in the end, sheer *military despotism*. Of course, I think it, as I have always thought it, inconsistent to complain of the Acts which have been passed, and, at the same time, to oppose a Reform of the Parliament.

You, my Lord, are amongst those who oppose this Reform; and, though I do not impute any selfish motive to you as your ruling principle, it is natural that a part, at least, of your feeling in this case should consist of a fear, that, in the change which the reformers contemplate, would be included the injuring and degrading of the order to which you belong. It is with the hope of convincing you that this is an error, that I have now done myself the honour to address myself to you; and, if the arguments which I submit to you upon this important subject should appear inconclusive, I am sure you will attribute the use of them to a sincere wish to restore the liberties and the happiness and to see preserved the power and renown of our country.

In all questions of mere right and wrong, it is sufficient to prove the existence of the one or the other. Our right to a *Reform*, upon the principle of annual parliaments and voting co-extensive with taxation, direct or indirect, has been *proved*. The *proof* remains undenied. The writings of Major Cartwright, those of Samuel Johnstone (not the bigoted, superstitious, pensioned Samuel Johnson), those of the

venerable Mr. Baron Maseres, those of Mr. Fawkes, the Letter and Bill of the late Duke of Richmond. In these writings, to go no further, are the *proofs* of our *right*. But, I am now to argue the matter as a question of *expediency* as the proposed Reform may affect the *nobility* of the kingdom.

In discussing whether a *change* of any sort be expedient or not, we must first consider, whether the party who thinks he shall be injured by it, *can, by any means, remain in his present state*; for, if he cannot, he *must* submit to *some change or other*. Now, let me put it to your Lordship: do you believe that the present state of things *can continue for any length of time*? Have you made up your mind to see England a dungeon country for the rest of your life, and to leave your share of it such to your son? No: I know that you could not endure the thought. A change, then, you must desire to see. And what sort of change can this be? Do you imagine that the dungeon system can cease, and, without any reform, *all can go on as before*? What! with a press, such as produced the dungeon system, and with all the dungeon transactions fresh in our memories! What do you think would be the effect of the "Two-penny Trash publication," in which the hawk-eyed Crown lawyers, with all their spaniels, terriers, and ferrets, could find nothing to prosecute? What do you think would be the effect of these with all the dungeon work to comment on? Unless, indeed, exile and the dungeon should have convinced the authors of the just and mild disposition of the Government, and have made them the admirers of the borough system. How then, unless this wonderful effect should be produced, is the thing to return to its former state? I say nothing about the progressive effects of the paper-money system. I am only calculating upon what would arrive independent of those effects. And again I ask your Lordship, whether you think, that, if the dungeon and gagging system were done away, and no reform were adopted, the Government could go peaceably on for a year? I am fully persuaded that

it could not, and, therefore, it appears to me, that the dungeon and gagging system can never cease, except in consequence of a reform, or of a convulsion.

If I am right in this opinion, and if the change must take place, at no distant day, the only choice for the nobles lies between perpetual *military despotism* and *reform*. I have no doubt that some of them would have no objection to the former. Indeed, they have proved that they would not; but, as this is not the case, I am well assured, with regard to your Lordship, and, as *time* may prevent even reform from healing the deep wounds of the country, I shall now endeavour to show, that a reform would not injure or degrade the nobility; but on the contrary, that it would ensure their safety, and relieve them from the odium under which they now exist in the eyes of the people.

Let us suppose for a moment a House of Commons, who should be really and truly chosen by *the people*. Why is it to be imagined, that they would wish to overturn the nobility? Those who suppose that, always proceed upon the notion, that the people if left to themselves, would choose low and poor and ignorant and even worthless men, and men of no other description. But, is this notion founded in reason? Is it founded in any-thing which we find in the natural disposition of man? Was it ever yet seen, that man sought to elevate their *equals*, and to place them above their own heads? Too much the contrary is witnessed in the world; and we often see envy step in and give to a superior in rank and fortune that which had been more wisely given to an equal in point of rank and fortune. Look at the choice of societies, clubs, fraternities of every sort; and you will find that it invariably alights upon the persons of the highest rank or talent or consequence. As naturally as the sparks fly upwards, the mass of any people will prefer superiors to equals in all cases where trust is to be reposed and where their choice is free. In the country, from which I am now writing, where the whole of the people vote for the

President and both Houses of Congress, do they choose poor, illiterate, and worthless men? The contrary is the well-known fact. Men the most distinguished for property as well as for talent and integrity are chosen. In the city of Westminster, broke loose from the trammels of the aristocracy, have the people chosen poor, illiterate, and worthless men? Nay, even the *Spenceans*, whose wild notions about equality one would have expected to find to shut out the rich as completely as the camel is shut out of the eye of a needle. Even these leaders in the cause of "*Christian policy*," who call all the land the "*people's farm*," have upon the list of their Committee of Public Safety, a *lord*, a *baronet*, Mr. *Fawkes*, and Major *Cartwright*, and only two of themselves, the one a *gentleman* and the other a *surgeon*.

Both reason and experience, then, forbid us to believe, that the people, if they had their free choice, would choose, in many cases, poor, illiterate and worthless men. They would, of course, select from amongst the men of fortune and talent those gentlemen who appeared to them to be the most decided in the cause of public liberty, and who had never pocketed any of the public money; but still, generally speaking, they would choose *gentlemen*, and would, to a certainty, reject public robbers of every description. And, my Lord, in what way would the dignity of Parliament, or of the Crown, suffer from the putting of Sir JOHN THROGMORTON in the place of a son of an army commissary? In what way would it suffer from the putting of Mr. HALLETT in the place of Mr. NEVILLE? But, the late DUKE OF RICHMOND has answered this objection long ago. I beg permission to refer your Lordship to his famous Letter, which was first published in 1783, and which was re-published by me in the *Register* of the first of March last. It is worthy of notice that the Duke wrote that letter in answer to one which he had received from the committee of correspondence appointed by the DELEGATES of forty-five *Volunteer Corps*, assembled at Lisborne in

Ireland; and that his Letter was intended to be *laid before a provincial assembly of DELEGATES which was to be held at Dungannon*. Thus, then, it was not deemed to be *treasonable* to meet as *delegates* upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform in those days; and it is also worthy of remark, that Lord Castlereagh was one of those Irish delegates, either at this particular time, or at a period subsequent to it. And, does your Lordship think that we are so base as not to feel resentment at the measures which have lately been adopted, principally upon the ground that *delegates* had met in various parts of the country?

The noble Duke, after calling the borough influence a *hydra of corruption*; after observing that a Reform of the House of Commons *would include every other advantage which a nation could wish*; after observing that *the people had been so often deceived that they would now trust scarcely any set of men*; after observing that *it was from the people at large that he expected any good*; after contending that *the people had an undisputed right to Universal Representation and Annual Parliaments*; after these and other assertions and statements, the noble Duke proceeds to answer the objections which have been offered to his plan of Reform. I beseech your Lordship to read the whole of the letter; but the following passage I cannot help quoting upon this occasion. "It is feared by me," says the Duke, "that the influence of "power and riches will give to the "aristocracy so great a lead in these "elections, as to place the whole Government in their hands. Others, "again, dread, that when paupers and "the lowest orders of the people shall "have an equal vote with the first "commoner in the kingdom, we shall "fall into all the confusion of a democratic republic. The contrariety of "these two apprehensions might of "itself be a sufficient proof that neither "extreme will take place. It is true, "that the poorest man in the kingdom "will have an equal vote with the first, "for the choice of the person to whom

" he trusts *his all*; and I think he *ought*
 " to have that equal degree of security
 " against oppression. It is also true,
 " that men of superior fortunes will have
 " a superior degree of weight and in-
 " fluence; and, I think, that as educa-
 " tion and knowledge generally attend
 " property, those who possess them
 " ought to have weight and influence
 " with the more ignorant. But the
 " essential difference will be, that the
 " people may be *led*, but cannot be
 " *driven*. Property will have its weight,
 " as it ever must have, in all govern-
 " ments; and I conceive, that in this
 " plan it will precisely find its just pro-
 " portion *combined with talents and*
 " *character*. A man of *great property*,
 " who is beloved and esteemed, will, as
 " he ought, have great sway; but, ty-
 " ranny and oppression, though attended
 " with riches, may be resisted, and will
 " no longer be attended with a bur-
 " gage tenure at command. Another object
 " of apprehension is, that the principle
 " of allowing to every man an equal
 " right to vote tends to *equality* in other
 " respects, and to *level property*. To
 " me it seems to have a direct contrary
 " tendency: The equal rights of men
 " to security from oppression, and to
 " the enjoyment of life and liberty,
 " strike me as perfectly compatible with
 " their unequal shares of industry, la-
 " bour, and genius, which are the origin
 " of inequality of fortunes. The equal-
 " ity and inequality of men are both
 " founded in nature; and whilst we do
 " not confound the two, and only sup-
 " port her establishments, we cannot err.
 " The protection of property appears to
 " me one of the most essential ends of
 " society; and so far from injuring it
 " from this plan, I conceive it to be the
 " *only* means of *preserving property*;
 " for the present system is hastening
 " with *great strides to a perfect equality*
 " *in universal poverty*."

Can you, my Lord, read these words
 without feeling great respect for the
 opinions of the writer, who, more than
 thirty years ago, saw so clearly the
 evils that were to befall his country!
 How sound was his judgment, and how
 correct were his views! As I once be-

fore observed, of all the noblemen in
 England, the Duke of Richmond was
 most distinguished for his knowledge
 as to the character of the people, and
 also for his industry and zeal in pro-
 moting their welfare. He was no
 Bible-Society or Religious-Tract gen-
 tleman. His mind was too enlightened
 to think of preserving the national cha-
 racter for bravery and frankness by
 making the people fanatics. As far as
 religion was concerned, he suffered them
 to walk peaceably in the paths of their
 forefathers; and while as a lord lieu-
 tenant and a magistrate he duly admi-
 nistered the law, as a master he was
 not only benevolent to the people, but
 he was active in teaching them, both
 by precept and example, improvements
 in agriculture, and in all moral concerns.
 He gave work to every man who was
 in want of work, come from where he
 would. He saw every man labour him-
 self; and while he was mild in the
 whole of his deportment towards the
 people, he discriminated between the
 idle and the industrious with the most
 scrupulous regard to impartiality and
 justice. On the other hand, proceeding
 upon the wise maxim that labour ought
 to be sweetened by recreation, amongst
 all ranks of men, he was a pattern with
 regard to the sports of the field; and
 his Park was the scene of all those
 manly sports and exercises in which
 the people of England so much delight,
 and which distinguish them from all
 other nations in the world. When he
 died, as I once before observed, *his*
neighbourhood died with him; and a
 Sussex gentleman who met me after-
 wards upon Portsdown Hill, told me
 that I had never uttered truer words in
 my life.

Such was the man, my Lord, whose
 opinions I have just quoted; and will
 you put in competition with his opi-
 nions the loose verbiage of the CASTLE-
 REAGHS, the CANNINGS, the HUSKISSONS,
 the DAVIS GIDDYS, the BANKESSES, the
 WILBERFORCES, the ROSES, the ADDING-
 TONS, the JENKINSONS, the RYDERS, and
 the SCOTTS? What do these men know
 about the people of England, in compa-
 rison to the knowledge of the noble Duke?

I think, then, my Lord, that this dread of the election of poor, illiterate, and worthless men you will now be convinced is wholly unfounded; that it is a supposition in hostility to nature as well as to experience. At the time when these American States were separated from the mother country, there were not wanting persons of high reputation as politicians in England, to predict, in the most confident manner, that the equality, in point of political rights, would prevent the establishment of such a government as would be able to ensure security to property; and as to the country's ever becoming a nation capable of going to war, it was treated as chimerical. What have we lived to see, however? Not only an efficient government for all domestic purposes; but a government capable of carrying on a victorious war against England single-handed; and, what is of infinitely greater importance, while numerous blockades of the ports of this country existed, while its soil was invaded in many parts, while several of its towns were sacked, and while the seat of government itself was in the hands of a burning and destroying enemy, this government, built upon an equality of political rights, elective from the top to the bottom, feeling that it was the people's government, and relying, therefore, upon the people's protection, *resorted to no suspension of the settled laws of the land.* One would suppose, that, after this example, no man would be found to argue that to give the people of England back their right to choose one branch of the legislature would be to *weaken* the government, and to *introduce confusion.*

As both reason and experience lead us to conclude, that the people would, for the far greater part, elect men of talent, of good character, and of property into the bargain, what fear could there be that such men would tear the constitution to pieces? Such men would find it their interest to uphold the privileges of the Peers; because, in so doing they would uphold, not only their own rights as proprietors, but, they would also uphold that part of the

institutions of the country, which would be the great bait to their own ambition. There are, indeed, such immense sums which have been swallowed up by particular individuals, that a refunding would probably take place. But, it is out of nature to suppose that a House of Commons really elected by the people, would endeavour to demolish the House of Peers. They must clearly see, that if once the work of demolishing began, in any of the great establishments of the country, there could be no end of demolishing, till all was demolished. Amongst all the persons that I have ever been acquainted with amongst the reformers in England, I have never met with one that entertained a wish to see any alteration as to the form of the government. I have frequently participated in discussions upon that subject; and the conclusion always has been, that the risk of any change of this sort was much too great to suffer any man who really loved his country to give his assent to any such attempt. We have reasoned thus upon the matter. "England was the only spot of this earth where freedom was cherished and kept alive. We see that there have been divers struggles on the part of our ancestors in the cause of freedom. We see that at divers epochs changes have taken place, but that the nation has always, in the end, sat down pleased with the kingly form of government; with a House of Peers; and with a House understood to represent the people. Our country has enjoyed, for a longer period than any country ever did in the world, general prosperity and happiness. The character of the people has been that of frankness, fidelity to engagements, ardent friendship and affection, distinguished bravery, and, though mixed with the fault of contempt and hatred of foreigners, unparalleled in attachment to country and in public spirit of every description. The renown of our country in learning, in arts, and in arms, is without an equal. Her power and her resources are beyond those of any other country. Seeing all this, and seeing that King, Lords

"and Commons, and an established Church, have always composed the government, we want no change in the form of that government. We seek only to correct those enormous abuses which, from time to time, have crept in and have supplanted the ancient bulwarks of our freedom; and when we trace these abuses to their source, we find them all to arise from a deviation from the constitution; from an usurpation of the rights of the people with regard to the election of the Members of the House of Commons; and we therefore demand our restoration to those rights."

This has always been the reasoning of myself, and of the men with whom I have co-operated; and, if it be true, as the hired press asserts, that the people now entertain views of "*total revolution*," to what is that to be ascribed but to the injustice with which they have been treated? There is a point beyond which to beg and to supplicate is degrading to man. When the prayers of a people are answered by the loss of the remnant of their liberties; when the dungeon and the halter are the answer to their respectful and humble prayers, what have they left but to hope for vengeance?

It is very certain that a reformed Parliament never would suffer the great families and their dependents to swallow up millions of the taxes. It is very certain that a reformed Parliament would take from the House of Lords that power of putting a majority into the House of Commons, which was described in the petition presented by Mr. GREY, in 1793. And what right have the House of Lords to put one single Member there, when there are positive Statutes forbidding them to interfere in the most distant manner in the election of the Members of the Lower House? For a Lord to take any part in an election, appears to me to be so impudent and so infamous a thing, that I wonder how any nobleman can hold up his head while the facts that exist are notorious. The petition of which I have just spoken offers to prove at the bar of the House, that the Peers put in more than a ma-

majority of the House of Commons. There is a law strictly forbidding the Peers to interfere in the election of commoners at all. That petition remains wholly unanswered, and yet we are called *sedition*, because we complain that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is not the representative of the people.

Under such circumstances, my Lord, it is impossible that the nobility, in a body should be beloved or respected by the people; and when the people perceive that those sums which are wrung from them in taxes to an amount beyond that of the produce of one half of their labour, go to pay the debts contracted by a Parliament thus constituted, and to furnish the means of luxury and extravagance to the great families and their dependents; when the journeyman and labourer know, as they now do know, that the misery of themselves and their children are produced by this cause, and when to the same cause the farmer and tradesman can trace their inability to live in comfort and to provide a competency for their families; when this is the case, can your Lordship be surprised, if there be a general dislike, if not absolute hatred, of the order of nobility, it being impossible for the people to make any discrimination, where so many individuals are concerned? Not content with their patronage in the Church; not content with that patronage, which I acknowledge belongs to them, I mean the livings, the gift of which is their property, and which property I do not wish to see violated, though, amongst the confusion of all sound principles, it has recently been violated; not content with this patronage, they have grasped all the patronage which fairly belonged to the King, and which he possessed for the benefit of his people; because it gave him the power without being shackled by partial and family views, to select and dignify the most learned and pious men amongst the clergy, and, as your Lordship well knows, his Majesty has no more power of this sort remaining than the meanest of his subjects has; not content with grasping at this

patronage also, they have recently granted during the space of about ten years, about a *million of pounds sterling* for the relief of the poor clergy of the Church! Whence have these poor clergy come? They have come from the heaping of benefices upon the relations and dependents of the great families. Thus has been created a race of poor clergy, and the people have been taxed to the amount of about a million of money, in order to relieve the misery thus created. Does your Lordship believe, that a reformed Parliament would ever have sanctioned this enormous oppression of the people; and can you believe that any farmer, any tradesman, any journeyman, any labourer, will, as long as these things last, entertain any but hostile feelings towards the Church as well as towards the nobility, especially when every creature now feels the pressure of *want* in a greater or a less degree?

The insecurity of the nobility, of their titles as well as their estates, arises, not from any desire that the people have to see them lowered; but, from the ill-will naturally engendered by a sense of injustice. How can the people view with feelings other than those of contempt mixed with hatred, persons who, while they carry their heads aloft, talk of their dignity, and affect to look down upon the rest of mankind, condescend, at the same moment, for the sake of grasping the public money, to have their names enregistered as searchers, packers, surveyors, customers, collectors, store-keepers, craners, wharfingers, tide-waiters, harbour-masters, clerks, sweepers, door-keepers, remembrancers, tellers, ushers and the like? Is it possible to believe that a people well acquainted with all these facts, and pinched half to death with poverty, can think of such persons without feeling execrations come involuntarily upon their lips?

There will be no end, because there can be no end, to these hostile feelings, until the cause be removed. And the people are fully convinced that there is no removing that cause without a reform of the Parliament. If such a re-

form were to take place *now*, and by the hearty consent of the nobility, all the past would be forgotten in a very short time. The nobility would be beloved and respected according to their several degrees of merit, and a great deal of merit many of them have; the sight of a glittering chariot would not call forth reflections on the miseries which it has occasioned; the people would again, as they formerly did, pay a cheerful and voluntary respect to the nobility, and not view them with grudging and rankling hearts, as they do at present. The property of the latter would be as secure as the foundations of the soil; and though political divisions might exist, the heart of the nation would be sound, and none but the wildest of madmen would dream of new schemes of government.

But, instead of this, what is now the situation of the nobility? They are at open war with the great mass of the nation. In order to prevent even the hearing of the people's complaints, they have, by their acts, *branded them all as traitors*, and have subjected them all to the absolute will and power of a few men selected by themselves. The dungeons are crammed with victims, some of whose lives have been saved by the virtue and courage of a jury. Spies have been engaged and sent forth in all directions over the country; and, in short, all the horrid symptoms of a dark and malignant tyranny meet your eye in which ever direction you turn.

I think it is impossible for your Lordship to believe, that things can remain as they are, or that they can *ever return to the state of last Christmas*. One of two things must take place; a reform of the Parliament, or an addition to the rigour of the despotism. If the reform does not take place, the thing cannot stand as it now does. There must be a censorship of the press direct. There must be an abolition of all juries in state prosecutions. And then, the thing comes at once to an open and avowed military despotism. The sword will be drawn, and the scabbard thrown away. Your titles and your estates will no longer rest upon the constitution and

the laws; but will hang entirely upon the point of the bayonet, than which nothing that the human mind can imagine is *more inconstant*. The Scripture tells us, that he who *lives* by the sword shall *die* by the sword. That is to say, that he who appeals to the sword gives up all right to protection from the law, or from the good-will or forbearance of men. Apply this to your own order, my Lord, and I fancy you will find that the danger to your titles and estates will be 'real and complete on the day when you shall say to the soldier "We depend wholly on your protection." When once it comes to this, the apprehension must be from moment to moment; and destruction, if it come, even *destruction*, will be a relief from incessant harassing anxiety and from an existence in the consciousness of being detested from the bottom of the hearts of ninety-nine out of every hundred men that you meet. "So long as the soldiers will stand by us, I don't care," was the observation of a person to me before I left England; and I believe that this was the general feeling amongst those who were hostile to reform. A law has been passed, making it death in any one to attempt to seduce a soldier from his duty. For a mother to beseech a pursuing soldier not to plunge his bayonet into the bosom of her child, would now be deemed a crime, and a crime punishable with *death*! Was this *necessary to your protection*, my Lord? Was this horrid law necessary to the protection of your order? If it was, what degree of *degradation* has that order to fear?

How slender that dependence is which is placed wholly upon the sword, all history informs us. But, suppose that the people can be kept disarmed, and kept down by troops scouring through the country, for the present, is it impossible that a *state of war* should arise? And, how is there to be a *militia* and a *local militia*, without putting arms into the hands of the people? And yet, if the dungeon and spy system continue until the breaking out of a war; if your dependence is to be solely upon the bayonet, until the day of war shall arrive, are the reformers, then, to be

called upon, and are arms to be put into their hands, for their country's defence! Are those to be called upon to defend the country who are now hunted like wild beasts through that country?

It is in vain for any one to hope that the recollection of these things will ever be rooted out of the minds of the people. The injuries they have received, the gross injustice they have experienced, and especially the vile arts which have been practised against them, are never to be forgotten, if they are to be forgiven. They will remember Lord Sidmouth's Circular long after every hair of his head shall be as white as snow. Your Lordship cannot imagine, that any thing short of a sheer military despotism will prevent the constant propagation of the principles upon which we have proceeded; and I undertake to promise, that as long as I have life and health, nothing short of that shall prevent their propagation. To return, then, to the dark and grumbling state of 1816 is impossible; and the only question which it appears to me that the nobility have to decide upon, is this: whether they shall agree to a reform and enjoy their titles and estates under the protection of the laws, or whether they shall hang them at once upon the point of the bayonet.

I will be as frank with your Lordship and with the public, as I would be with my own sons; and, I explicitly state it to you as my opinion, that nothing will satisfy the people short of a complete redress of grievances, such as was prayed for in the Hampshire Petition. Any attempt to cobble up what might be *called* a reform; any-thing of that mixty-maxty sort which Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now seems to be attempting in conjunction with those who have, at last, condescended to call him their "honourable friend"; any-thing of this sort would assuredly lead to confusion, and, in all human probability, to the total overthrow of the Government. Your Lordship has always seen, that redress, yielded to *grudgingly*, and, *bit by bit*, has only tended to weaken the party yielding, without silencing or softening the party demanding. Our

claims are founded, not only in principle, but in law and in reason. The Duke of RICHMOND saw the danger of any half measure; of any attempt to gain a bit at a time; and Mr. BROUGHAM acted with perfect *consistency* when he proposed to get foot-hold to begin with. Mr. Ward very aptly cited, or might have cited in preference to his speech, the fable of the *Hatchet and the Forest*. In this case, justice and policy, justice to the people and security to themselves, point out the same line of conduct to the nobility, and that is to yield *the whole at once*; to yield the whole without grudging; to yield the whole graciously and with cordiality; and they will find in the grateful feelings of the people, and in a return of their former love and veneration for the nobility, a much better security for their titles and estates than all the bayonets in the world could afford.

It is, as I said before, impossible for the people ever to forget, or for their children to forget, the insulting and cruel treatment which they have now received. But there is no people in the world who are less disposed to harbour vindictive feelings. No people forgive with more readiness; and there is only one single act, and of that act the people have shown their decided disapprobation, where England can fairly be charged with insult or rancour towards an enemy, when an enemy no longer. Of this disposition of the people, no one that knows them will entertain a doubt. Nor is there in England but very little of that perking self-sufficiency which induces men, of no fair pretensions, to aspire to an equality with their superiors. Wonderful talent was shown by the reformers at their numerous meetings, especially in Scotland, at Cork, in Lancashire and Yorkshire; but upon all these occasions, their *modesty* was full as conspicuous as their talents. They every-where besought men of high rank and great property to come and take the lead: and they every-where expressed their regret at being compelled to stand forward in the place of men of greater capacity. Upon what ground then did the insolent Castlereagh im-

pute the petitions for Reform "to the instigation of men, who, *without any pretensions*, were aspiring to *high office*"? Upon what ground did he make this assertion? Upon none, but upon the pride of his own heart; though, perhaps, out of twenty thousand of the men who stood forward in the cause of Reform, not one could be found *less* qualified for high office than himself, who never uttered a speech or wrote a paper that contained a single trait of any-thing worthy of the name of genius or of wisdom. *He*, indeed! he! whose remedy for the distresses of the country was *the setting of men to dig a hole one day, and to fill it up the next*; he, whose public papers are a tissue of ungrammatical and inexplicable sentences; and, whose everlasting verbosity, whose heaps of words without a meaning; whose slippery nonsense, would not be endured for two minutes in any well-informed and independent assembly upon earth; he, who has no quality to recommend him but that of unblushing impudence under those circumstances which would make any other man sink into the earth with shame.

The reformers in England, by whom I mean the whole mass of the people, have none of this impudence. They are not what is called a forward race of men. You always perceive, in every company or meeting, a backwardness, a shyness, a dislike to appear prominent. It is thus from the highest to the lowest; and you are frequently greatly surprised to find men full of information and talent, who are so far from having any pretensions to either, that they are in the deepest distress if called upon to perform that which would be an object of desire with men of a different character. This is the character of the whole of the people, by which I mean that it is the general character of the people; and, in estimating the consequences of a Reform, this character is of great importance. Pertness and that self-conceit which will suffer a man to see no superior, do not belong to the character of Englishmen; and, what is more, wherever they meet with it, they are sure to mark it with their disapproba-

tion. What danger, then, could there be, that emptiness, self-conceit, and impertinent ambition, would place themselves at the top in consequence of a fair appeal to such a people, in the conducting of whose affairs, from the great merchant down to the cottager, all is regularity, punctuality, and due subordination? The very terms of the apprenticeships in England would be a proof, if there were no other, of the cheerfulness with which men yield a legal obedience. In short, my Lord, everything belonging to the character of the people forbids you to believe that they would suffer themselves to be ruled by conceited and hair-brained demagogues. The nobility and gentlemen of the country have now to determine, and they have but a short time wherein to determine, whether they shall pass their lives secure in the people's esteem, or whether they shall depend upon the sword against that people's hatred. It is in vain for any one of you to hope, that you will escape that hatred by avoiding *actual hostility* against the people. "He that is not *for* us is *against* us," is the rule upon which the people must proceed in this case. He who shall distinguish himself as the friend of the people, they never will forget; but he who shall not, must expect to be confounded with the rest.

I offer no apology to your Lordship for having addressed this letter to you. I have selected your name as its passport to the public, for the reasons stated at the outset. In writing it I have been actuated by the most sincere and ardent desire to produce conviction in your mind and to promote the welfare of England, which, wherever I am and under whatever circumstances I may be placed, whether of prosperity or of adversity, will always be the object nearest to the heart of

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TITHES.

To the Farmers of England.

Kensington, 29th June, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

PRAY read the following account of a *Tithe Battle* in that miserable country, Ireland; where six-sevenths of the people do not belong to the Church, and where one Parson has sometimes the tithes of *ten Parishes*. This article is taken by me from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 25th of June; and it is entitled "*Slaughter at Newtownbarry*," (from the *Dublin Evening Post*) "*the Church militant*." *Church militant* means *fighting Church*; and in Ireland, as you will see, the tithes are collected, in some instances, at least, by fighting. I was, I thank God, not in Ireland; and I always thank God that I am not likely ever to be in a country situated as Ireland is. I, therefore, could not be a witness of the transaction here related, and I could not take my oath that it is true. But I find it published in the *Dublin Newspapers*, and re-published in all the *London newspapers*, and I see it contradicted in none of them. I give it you just as I find it published and re-published, and here you have it. "It appears that *the Rev. Mr. M'Clintock seized two heifers for the non-payment of tithe*—on that property "which we are told, with a foolish kind "of flourish, is anterior in point of time "to the Duke of Leinster's title-deeds; "that the said M'Clintock exposed the "cattle to sale by auction; that no purchasers could be found (a fact which "the Reverend Gentleman might easily "have anticipated); that the sons of "the owner, joined by some of the populace endeavoured to rescue the cattle; that the yeomanry from Enniscorthy and other places, under the "command of Captain Graham, Lord Farnham's agent, attended at the "sale, and that a body of police were "also present. It further appears by "the statement, that the police were "ordered to fire on the people, a command which the officer thought himself "justified in disobeying, and for which "he will have to thank God to the last

"hour of his existence: that Captain Graham, however,—Lord Farnham's agent, an Orangeman, and commanding an Orange corps of yeomanry,—ordered his men, who had been previously furnished with an ample supply of ball-cartridges, to fire on the multitude; that they accordingly discharged volley after volley on the dense mass before them; that a great number was killed and wounded, including women, and that several were forced by this noble corps and noble Captain into the Slaney, where some perished."

There, gentlemen; that is an Irish *tithe-battle*. Do you wish to see the like of it in England? If you do not, join heart and hand; lose no time in petitioning the Parliament to abolish and for ever do away with, the cause of such horrible slaughter. It is no crime, as yet, at any rate, to petition the Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury has brought in a bill for making a *composition* for tithes universal; composition! why, there was a composition for tithes where this reverend M'CLINTOCK made the seizure. Composition, indeed, why, I have been a farmer, first and last, fifteen or sixteen years in England, and I never rendered tithe in kind in my life: I always paid a composition, and it is almost universal that farmers pay a composition. The intended composition, therefore, would only tend to compel the farmers to pay more than they pay now, and to have the payment enforced by some law more summary and rigorous than the present. Another Lord has a scheme for *commuting tithes*; that is to say, commuting, to receive money *in lieu* of the tithes; that is to say, I suppose, a parochial tax is to be imposed, and the revenue given to the Parson. Poh! gentlemen, these schemes will bring no relief to you nor to your labourers. What is wanted is, a total abolition of tithes, by a law passed for the purpose. A Mr. EAGLE, of the Inner Temple, has published a pamphlet, entitled a legal argument to show that the tithes; all tithes, great as well as small, are the

property of the public and of the poor, and that the Parliament may, agreeably to the laws, take them away when it pleases. Therefore, in your several parishes, agree upon, and send to your county members, petitions praying that the tithes may be totally abolished. When you come to choose a reformed Parliament, choose no man who will not distinctly pledge himself to do his utmost to cause an abolition of the tithes. Every parish in the kingdom ought to have a copy of this pamphlet: it ought to be read by you all, and then you will know what to do. If you wish again to live in peace and safety; if you wish to be able to pay your labourers wages upon which they can live; if you wish England to escape the dreadful fate of Ireland, prepare petitions and send them forward even to the present Parliament.

With an anxious desire to see you restored to your former state of security and happiness, and to see the labourers well-fed and contented,

I remain, your faithful friend
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO

THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS

Appointed by the Whig Government to collect and communicate Information to Persons disposed to emigrate to the British Colonies.

MY LORDS COMMISSIONERS,

SUCH being your office, you must naturally wish to have information to communicate to the sensible and happy persons who wish to emigrate to the colonies. Lest, therefore, it should escape your vigilant attention, I hereby enclose you, from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 28th of May, a piece of information extremely useful to the said sensible persons. It is contained in an extract from a newspaper published in that lump of beggarly wooden houses, which calls itself "*the city of Saint*

John," which is at the mouth of the river of that name, in the province that is called New Brunswick. The extract is as follows, under date of the 29th of May.

"We lament to state, that in addition to the *heavy and almost insupportable burden* to which this city has been subject, owing to the impoverished state of the large number of *the emigrants which have recently arrived here from Ireland*, cases of *infectious diseases* have been discovered by the visiting physicians, on board two of the vessels, and in consequence they are now *performing quarantine*. The vessels alluded to are the *Charity*, from Kinsale, and the *Billow*, from Newry, the former with the *small-pox* on board, and the latter *with the fever*. The Common Council met on Monday, and judiciously desired that the sick from both vessels should be landed at the *Pest-house*, on Partridge Island. We understand that last evening, although large *supplies of provisions* were sent down, Doctor Boyd communicated to the Mayor that it had been represented to him that the passengers in the vessel with the *small-pox* on board were *in a state of mutiny*, and had taken the command of the vessel, and that the constable sent on board was *in danger of his life*. Accordingly, his Worship addressed a note to the commanding officer of the rifle corps, requiring assistance. An officer and thirty men were immediately put under order for embarkation.—Two o'clock, P.M.—We have just learned that Mr. Sandall has returned to town, and reports that the *master of the Charity alone is culpable*, the passengers being in an orderly state; the Common Council have directed immediate proceedings against the captain for leaving the vessel without cause."

This is pretty complete. Here the miserable wretches are a burden to the people living in the country that they are sent to. Here they arrive afflicted with infectious diseases; here is a pest-house established, and quarantine re-

quired; here the poor wretches are in a state of mutiny on account of the ill-treatment of the captain of the ship; here is the old and standing remedy applied, soldiers sent on board with plenty of ball cartridges, I dare say. These are pieces of very important information to give to those who may be desirous of emigrating to the British colonies.

But, my good Lords, the main permanent fact is, the heavy and almost insupportable burden which these emigrants bring upon the people into whose country they are sent. A pretty clear proof that they are not wanted there; a pretty clear proof that they are unable to maintain themselves; a pretty clear proof that they must speedily get into the United States, or live by plunder or die. The truth is, that New Brunswick, though far better than Nova Scotia, is one great heap of rocks, spruce fir-trees growing out of the interstices; and that, in fact, it has no land except narrow strips on the sides of the rivers and creeks, and that these strips have long and long ago been granted away to persons who had what is called the interest to obtain them. The country has swamps in it; and these swamps are not only not to be cultivated, but are impassable, except in the times of the snows. In Canada the case is much about the same; and *the liberty of the press* is much about the same as it is in *Demerara*. Whether the printers have licenses in Canada, I do not know; but I remember reading in an Upper Canada paper, about three years ago, of a shorter process than even that of *Demerara*. Some persons, in authority of some sort or other, finding a paragraph in a newspaper, which paragraph they did not like, went to the office of the paper, took the presses and the types by force, and flung them into the lake; and that the editor declared that he possessed no means whatever that afforded him the smallest chance of redress. He might tell a falsehood, but this is what I read, and I never read any-thing in contradiction of it. But the answer to complaints of this sort always is, "*Without such laws, you cannot keep colonies.*" Very well: this

is not worth disputing about ; but this is a piece of very useful information to all those whom your Lordships are appointed for the purpose of informing upon these matters.

In the republic of America there are no licenses ; there is no flinging of types and presses into the water ; there are no complaints about the country being burdened by wretched emigrants ; there are no military Governors ; and no persons in authority for the wretched emigrant to crouch down before. As to this New Brunswick, the snow covers the ground many feet deep, from the first week in November to the last week in May. Then comes heat, that will, indeed, ripen melons in the natural ground ; but which will nearly melt the gardener at the same time. JOHN WATSON, a poor man whom the parish sent out from Seddlecomb in Sussex, and who thought he was going to the United States of America, found himself landed in this New Brunswick. He went up the river St. John, to a spot that I know as well as I know Kensington, and then they gave him an abundance of land, but the poor fellow found that it was like having an abundance of sea ; and that, in short, he and his family must starve, or lead a sort of savage life if they remained there. He might have come down the river again in the summer and get into a Yankee vessel which had brought green peas and cabbages to the city of Saint John, and thus get into the United States. But not knowing how to go to work to do this ; and determined to get to the United States, and hearing that he could get thither through Canada, he made, in the month of February or March, a sort of sledge, put his four or five children upon it, and, drawing it four hundred miles upon the snows, he and his wife and children got into Lower Canada. The kind Roman Catholics of Lower Canada, when he arrived amongst whom he and his wife were exhausted and almost starved, lodged and fed and clothed and started them off again ; but the snows having melted by this time, he wanted a vehicle with wheels wherewith to get his chil-

dren along. The kind people made him a little cart. With this he made his way through Lower and Upper Canada, living upon the charity of the people, and at last arrived safe in the United States, going on to the banks of the Ohio, whence he now writes to his father that he has a good farm of his own well stocked with cattle and pigs.

These, my Lords, are the pieces of information which you ought to give to the fools who have got it into their heads that they can have land for nothing by going to the British Colonies. At any rate, if you do not give them the information, I will, as far as I can ; and, if I only had given to me, for this purpose, a thousandth part of the money which the Royal Commission to which you belong will cost this nation, there should not be a man in the nation ignorant of the matter in the course of a month.

WM. COBBETT.

CHURCH PLURALITIES.

THE "*Courier*," which appears to be a hack that goes, like an heir-loom, from Ministry to Ministry, has got into a curious dispute with the *Chronicle* about pluralities in the Church. The *Courier* is faithful to the Church, though it acknowledges that *some reformation* is necessary, and says, that, in all human probability, the political Reform will be followed by a reformation of the Church favourable to the spirit of the age. *Bon diable!* as the French say when any-thing surprises them ; and, as we should say, "*The devil it will!*" But DAN (DAN STEWART, I mean) ; for DAN was, at any rate, the man for a quarter of a century ; DAN goes into particulars ; DAN says that one of the features of the Reform would be an equalization of Church revenues. *Bon diable!* What, then, DAN, are we to understand from you, one of the six score mouth-pieces of this liberal Ministry, that Lord GUILDFORD, for instance, who has the four livings of St. Mary, Southampton (including South Stoneham), Old Alresford, New Alresford, and

Medstead; are we to conclude that this Lord GUILDFORD is to give up three of them, and let three poor curates come and take the others, and go to the one that is left and preach himself? Is this what you mean, DAN? As to the hard-working clergy, who ever uttered a breath against them, generally speaking? For my part, it has been my great complaint that they are starved, while the fat non-residents insult us by their very looks. In short, it is useless to talk about the matter; to pieces this Church will be taken by law; and all the talk of LORD GREY about the people's liking the Church and his liking the Church, and about composition and commutation; the whole of it is nonsense. What we want is, and what I shall never cease to endeavour to obtain, is, first, a total abolition of the tithes, great and small; next an application of the real property, called Church-property, to the liquidation of a part of the Debt; next, the giving of the parsonage-houses and of the ancient glebe, for the use of the present curates for their lives, upon certain conditions of residence and good behaviour; and lastly, to leave them, as they are in America, to be paid by their parishioners by voluntary contribution; and I am certain that they would receive in this way four times the sum that they now receive from their present masters, and would be treated with a thousand times as much respect as that with which they are treated now.

The *Chronicle* does not know what the *Courier* would be at; nor will the Parsons know what it would be at. They will be frightened out of their senses at the very mention of a reform in the Church; but frightened or frightened not, it will come; and I am sure that the day is not distant when FARDELL of Ely, will have something else to think about besides publishing atrocious lies about me. In the year 1817, in the month of March, I told the Hampshire Parsons that they would not have their tithes for more than ten years. My prophecy will be wrong in point of time; but in point of time only; and that time will not exceed four years.

That which the law has given, the law can take away. The parsons boast that their church is established by law. It is the law church, and, of course, it is amenable to the law; let the law deal with it, and deal with it lumpingly too, and all the people will say *Amen!* I should not at all wonder to see a form of prayer for the use of the church, thanking God for this great and glorious reformation.

It has been much the fashion of late to abuse the clergy; and truth to tell, the illiberal or indiscreet conduct of some of its members has put weapons into the hands of their opponents much more powerful than any which the bitterest enemies of the church establishment could have obtained from their own resources; but is it fair to anathematize *a whole body* for the misconduct of *a few*?—and ought we in our just regret—indignation if you will—at the display of violence and prejudice which we have witnessed in that few, to inculcate a feeling of hatred for a class of persons with whom we would wish, from temporal and spiritual considerations, to live in *terms of amity and love*? Our contemporary assumes that the clergy at large are opposed to the Reform Bill; but on what does he ground his assumption? The declarations of certain leading individuals of that body. And who are those individuals? Persons who are either directly interested in resisting the Reform Bill, under the impression that it will lead to a church reform, *one of the chief features of which would be the equalization of church revenues*; or others, who, from the Monkish seclusion in which they received their education, arrived at once on the spot of their future pastoral duties among persons either wholly uneducated, or so partially informed, as to confirm rather than remove the narrow prejudices of a mere college education. The system of religion and morality taught in our Universities, is not sufficient to render the clergymen who enjoy good benefices indifferent to worldly considerations, or to prepare the mind for generous sentiments. We consequently find the rural, well-fed pastor, who is but too frequently also the *pompous Justice of the Peace*, the declared opponent of liberal doctrines; but what are these in number compared with the *hard-working clergy*, who have *every-thing to hope from an equalization of church revenues*, and the clergy of large towns, who, in their commerce with men of the world, acquire enlarged and liberal ideas? Two-thirds of the ill-paid clergy have had no opportunity of declaring their sentiments, and the honourable feelings of the clerical advocates of reform in large towns and cities, have kept them quiet, because such men do not choose to mingle politics with religion; yet, because the Honourable and Reverend this, or the Dean of that, whose

brother, or uncle, or patron, happens to be an anti-reformer, makes a great outcry against reform, *The Chronicle* censures in the lump a class of *the most amiable men*, taken as a body, that this or any other country contains. This is not fair. There are many, even among the wealthy and well-beneficed of our clergy, of liberal minds, and who are therefore friendly to reform, and among the clergy at large there must be, from interest and principle, a vast majority favourable to a plan of reform, which will in *all human probability* be followed by a reformation of the church favourable to the spirit of the age, but at the same time just and kind to the established clergy, and conducive to the true interests of the Christian religion. We hate this abuse of the church. It is illiberal—it is ill-timed—and in the main, we are sure, it is undeserved.

IRISH LABOURERS.

It has been mentioned in several of the public papers, and, in particular, in those of Kent, that the English labourers are resolved to resist the invasion from Ireland this year. The poor Irish are in the situation of the people in Philadelphia, the first time that they had the yellow fever there: if they break out into England, they are assaulted, in some way or other; if they stay at home in their own wretched country they starve. As far as these poor people are concerned, I am sorry for this; but I cannot say that it is unnatural for the English labourers to wish to keep the harvest-work to themselves, especially when the Government, the sharp-sighted and Irish Whig Government, the profound Whig Government, has established a board for inducing the English labourers to go away from the country. What! exclaim they, bring in a law to mortgage all the lands and houses in the country, to raise money to get us out of it, and, at the same time, import thousands of Irish labourers to do the work in this our country! This is their exclamation, of course. When that bill was brought in, I said that I would prevent it, by force of reasoning I would prevent it; from fulfilling the scheme that was entertained. I have done it; I care not whether the bill be brought in again or

not. I know that it cannot pass; and, I know that, if it were to pass, it would produce no effect; at least, upon those whom I wish to keep in the country, namely, those who raise the food and make the raiment and the houses. There was some small talk the other night; a little bandying of compliments between the late and the present Secretary at War, about sending out the half-pay officers as emigrants to the colonies; but then a hope was expressed that care would be taken that they did not come back to be chargeable to the parish. In God's name, let these go; let them go and breed gentlemen and ladies for Canada and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland. They will have nothing to do there but to call one another *Sir Thomas* and *my lady*. There will be K. C. B. and K. G. H. and whatever it is; but at the end of a few years, we must absolutely have quarantine laws to keep them from coming back. The best way would be, and upon my word I would do it, to supply the colonies well with these people, and then make them a present of the colonies. To bar the charge of contemplated treason, I mean to say, that I would do this by law. I would make them a present, not only of the colonies, but of all the troops that are therein quartered; aye, and of all the canons and magazines, and of everything else, bringing away only the ships that they have to guard them. The soldiers would soon take possession of the power, and, if any-body could, they would make these tax-eaters work.

To return, for a moment, to the Irish labourers, the struggle between them and the English is the first of the sort that ever was heard of in the world; for, never before did men fight for a preference in the doing of work. I should not be at all surprised if the Irish were to keep away this year; or, if they were to find it very difficult to get employment if they come; because employers will not like to do anything to revive the scenes of last fall and winter; they will have great difficulty in getting in the harvest in good time

in many parts. The men will demand higher pay and will be very untractable. This is natural, and, therefore, it will be; but still the English farmers will never, if they can avoid it, encounter a month of November like the last. Therefore, Irish Squirearchy, expect your poor creatures not to carry you back so much, after harvest, as they used to do. Be content with what you get now: the poor creatures come here to work, not for themselves, but for you. Look at your wretched country at this moment, and see what has been sent from its ports within the last ten years; see how much more has been brought from that wretched country into this during the last ten years, than has been brought hither from all the rest of the world. Look at the comparative statement; then look the world in the face, that world knowing that the Irish people are starving. Here is the account:

An Account of Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Flour imported from FOREIGN PARTS within the last ten years, from 1821 to 1830; both inclusive.

	Quarters.
Wheat . . .	5,073,429
Barley . . .	1,558,407
Oats . . . :	5,212,509
<hr/>	
Total . . .	11,844,345
Cwts. of Flour	1,921,066

An Account of Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Flour imported FROM IRELAND in the same period.

	Quarters.
Wheat . . .	3,419,871
Barley . . .	761,027
Oats	12,020,258
<hr/>	
Total . . .	16,201,156
Cwts. of Flour	4,158,767

Can you, Irish Squires, look the world in the face when that world has this statement before it, along with your acknowledgments that the people are starving? Aye, can you, and could look ten worlds in the face! But, at any rate, you will, I imagine, get very

little deducted from the wages of English labourers to be carried back to be given to you this year, and still less in any year to come. Carried back, did I say! It is not carried back, one time out of twenty. The poor creatures come here to London when they have raked together all they can, and pay in the money to the agents of the Irish landlord. This is one of the ways in which English labourers have been brought down, and the cessation of this is one of the great changes for the better.

SPALDING BANK.

CURIOUS crash; greater, the newspapers say, than Spalding has known for half a century. One of the partners comes to London, draws out all the money belonging to the firm, and off he goes with it to America. Every-thing brings grist to Jonathan's mill. One would think that this system was created for the express purpose of beggaring this country and enriching that. A more general crash, just at this time, which appears not to be impossible by any means, would add to the confusion towards which every-thing appears to be advancing.

COBBETT'S CORN.

WITH great delight I hear of beautiful crops of this corn in Sussex, in Lincolnshire, and with particular pleasure I hear of it in the ten little flinty parishes of Hampshire. I hear that the widow mother of the two MASONs has her corn in a very fine state. She has twenty rods, which will, I dare say, give her from twelve to fifteen bushels of shelled corn, enough to fat two very nice pigs. There are about five thousand labouring men to whom I have sent an ear apiece of this corn, and a *Two-penny Trash* along with it; and as far as I have heard, it is flourishing every-where. This is accomplishing a great thing.

These people will have seed to give to their relations and friends; the corn will soon supplant the doubly-accursed potatoe; and, seeing the immense produce of it, and its great value, industrious and frugal labourers will wish to get little bits of land for their own use. Thoughtless farmers will not like this; but landowners will; for they will soon find what a diminution it will make in the poor-rates. I had this thing very much at heart; and now I think it is accomplished: I know that I shall root out the most abominable potatoes.

NEW EMIGRATION SCHEME.

NOTWITHSTANDING the article inserted in the *Register* for the 4th of June, in answer to Ludlow's questions; notwithstanding the clear proof there given that the arguments were not worth a straw; notwithstanding this, the schemers are proceeding with as much vigour as ever; and, sorry I am to tell you, that they now appear to be acting with the approbation of the Government itself, as you will clearly perceive by the following publication, sent forth in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, of the 22d of June.

"The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon the *Right Honourable Robert Wilmot Horton*, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Ceylon.

"His Majesty has been pleased to establish a commission, for the purpose of collecting and communicating to persons desirous to emigrate to any of the *British possessions abroad*, in quest of employment, such information as may be useful to the parties so circumstanced: and generally to render to such persons such counsel, advice, and aid as can be lawfully afforded to them in effecting such emigrations. The Commissioners will hold their meetings at the Colonial Office, in Downing-street, and the following are

the persons appointed: His Grace the *Duke of Richmond, Viscount Howick*, *Francis Thornhill Baring, Esq.*, *Henry Ellis, Esq.*, and *Robert Wilson Hay, Esq.*: *Frederick T. Elliot, Esq.*, to act as Secretary to the said Commissioners."

But, you will say, what have we to do with this Right Honourable WILMOT HORTON? Why you have a great deal to do with him: he is the head emigration schemer; and he has just now been made the Governor of an island, a post which, they say, is worth eight thousand pounds a year; and who it is that pays it I need not tell you. However, he has schemed, it seems, pretty well for himself; but, my friends, only look at this thing! A board of commissioners, established by the King, to collect information for persons who may wish to get out of the country! a board of commissioners, with a Duke at the head of it, to show people how they may carry away out of England that which constitutes England's strength. A board of royal commissioners to get the King's subjects out of his kingdom. Strange state of things when this can be! this excites an ominous foreboding indeed. But let others do what they like: my business is to give you true information on the subject; my business is to guard you against listening to the suggestions of any-body, which suggestions might be injurious to you.

You will observe, that these commissioners are to collect information, and to give it to such persons only as may wish to go to *British possessions abroad*; *British possessions*, mind you; and, indeed, none was necessary to be collected for persons going to the United States of America, for they have all the information already collected in my little book, called the *Emigrant's Guide*. What sort of Government there is in British possessions abroad, you may gather from the following account. One of the British possessions is called *Demerara*, and in that colony there was a newspaper printed, called the *Demerara Gazette*, published and owned by Mr. ALEXANDER STEPHENSON. NOW

take this proprietor's own account of the manner in which his publication was put a stop to; read it attentively, it is dated George Town, Demerara, 17th March, 1831, and it has been sent to me and all the other publishers in London, that we may let the people know how the press is treated in the colonies.

"SIR,—A circumstance having occurred yesterday in our office, which in our opinion, as a precedent, deeply interests every British subject, and more especially all those immediately connected with the public press, we take the liberty of communicating it for your information, requesting that you will take such notice of it as in your discretion the case may appear to require. For the facts of the case, we beg to refer you to the notice and other documents which we published yesterday, and to a copy of our Paper of the 14th instant, for publishing which our license to print the same has been arbitrarily withdrawn by the authorities named in the interdict, without subjecting the question of our delinquency to the decision of any court of justice, or affording us any notice or explanation whatsoever. This is the third time that our paper has been stopped, in the same abrupt and arbitrary manner, by the same individual, Major-General Sir BENJAMIN D'URBAN, the Lieutenant-Governor of this Colony. On the 18th of November, 1825, the same thing took place, and from an equally insignificant cause, viz. having published in our paper a most outrageously gross expression made use of publicly on parade by a Major in the Militia to a very respectable inhabitant, a private in the same corps. Our paper was then stopped for a considerable time; and it was only in consequence of making a personal application to the Colonial Secretary in London, that we were allowed to resume its publication. On the second occasion, the grounds were so trifling, that the interdict was withdrawn in the course of two days. The circulation of our paper is very considerable, not only

in this colony, but also throughout all the West Indies, and even in Great Britain. The loss, therefore, to us, occasioned by such suspensions, must be obvious to you, and the inconvenience and annoyance to the public, occasioned by the suppression of the only paper which attempts the discussion of our local grievances, is very considerable. As a proof that our statement of the public distress here, and of the existence of most oppressive and rapidly increasing abuses, is by no means exaggerated, we enclose for your inspection a memorial, drawn up and about to be transmitted by the planters and merchants of this colony, with an appendix containing the details of their difficulties and a statement of many of the abuses which now grievously oppress them. We were prepared to produce a far more detailed and well-authenticated statement of all these circumstances, and the means by which the authorities have thought proper to suppress its publication, have been the suppression of our paper in the arbitrary manner above stated. The effectual suppression of these repeated violations of the legitimate freedom of the press, in many distant parts of the Empire, can only be obtained by strong public appeals to the justice and sympathy of our countrymen in the mother country. The delays and expenses of repeated applications to law for redress would exhaust the patience and resources of the most fortunate. To our fellow-labourers, therefore, in the same useful and arduous avocation, we chiefly look for that support which we feel confident they will not refuse to an unjustly persecuted individual, and that they will feel stimulated to afford this, not less from a kindly sympathy to another's sufferings than from an enlightened view of their own deep interest in the subject."

It is not likely that the Board of Commissioners, with the Duke of Richmond at their head, should communicate this information to persons who are disposed to emigrate to the colo-

nies; yet nothing can be more *useful* to such persons than information like this. I question, too, whether the Lord Chancellor, who has a work published which he calls "*Useful Knowledge for the People*," will publish this piece of information; and so the poor fools that suffer themselves to be persuaded to go to the colonies, will, when they come there, find themselves unable to have a word to read, except that word be first *licensed by the governor*! It is very well worthy of remark, that the paper which *caused this taking away of the license*, contained an *extract from the Register*, describing the *ill-treatment of the people in Ireland*, and another from my *History of Geo. IV.*, describing the *meanness and falseness of the Whigs*! "Like master like man;" like ministry like Governor. It is not likely, indeed, that any of you will ever become printers or editors; but, pray, ask yourselves: if this be the law with regard to the press, what must be the law with regard to speech? and, if a man can neither write nor speak in safety, what becomes of the safety of his person and his property? Put these questions to yourselves; and then, after you have duly considered them, if you still go to an English colony, be all the consequences on your own heads. Look, on the other hand, at the United States of America, where there has been no state prosecution since the beginning of the existence of the republican government; where there is not only no license, but where there are none of those laws that we have here for trammelling the press; where there is no stamp upon newspapers or upon anything else; where, under that good and cheap Government, no man in public authority is afraid of the press.

I have given you a fair specimen of the sort of liberty enjoyed in the British Colonies. I knew it well before; I could give you a description of all the wretchedness of living in those colonies; but I have chosen to content myself with this one authentic undeniable proof; and with that proof I am sure that you will be satisfied. It is not, however, of this species of liberty that

you would most feel the want: it is of the real bodily sufferings of which I think most, and against encountering which I wish to guard you. To go to Botany Bay, to which they now give the pretty name of *Swan River, Sidney Settlement, Van Dieman's Land*, and the like, is to go a nine months' voyage, to begin with; and then, if you outlive that voyage, to encounter every hardship that tongue or pen can describe. The British American Colonies are *Prince Edward's Island, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada*. Six months in the year, all these countries are covered with snow several feet deep. *Prince Edward's Island* and *Newfoundland* are two banks of sand, with fir-trees growing upon part of them. *Nova Scotia* consists of heaps of rocks, covered with fir-trees, for the greater part, with a few narrow strips of clear land in the bottoms of the valleys. *Nova Scotia* is much about the same thing; and, in short, this is the description of the whole, except a part of *Upper Canada*, which joins on to the worst part of the United States. Everywhere the snow covers the ground for several feet deep six months in the year. So poor are those countries, that garden-stuff and fruit, even cabbages, are carried from the United States by sea, to be eaten by the governors, officers of the army, and other *gentlefolks*, who are paid out of the taxes raised on us. Of the poverty of those countries I need give you no proof but this; namely, that many thousands of pounds out of our taxes are sent to them every year to pay the church parsons in those countries; for, observe, and I beg you to observe it well, that the people of those countries have never submitted to the payment of tithes. Indeed, the countries are so poor, that they could not pay them if they would; but, poor as they are, the church parsons that are in them contrive to be fat; and fat they will be as long as the means of fatness are taken out of taxes raised on us. I have told you before, and I tell it you again, that you are to look upon *North America* as an ox; that our colonies

are the shins, the horns, the head, and the hoofs; and the best part of Canada may be called the neck; and that the republic of America consists of the ribs, the loins, the rump, the rounds, the flanks, and the kidneys; which you ought to choose, if you have a choice, I need not say, unless you have entirely forgotten what the word beef means. In short, and to give you a description more plain, if possible, do you know of any gravel-pit, at the top of which you see the little bit of soil, not more than three inches deep, and well mixed with stones, soil upon which nothing will grow, except the little hardy weeds, and in which they die in a summer like this before Old Midsummer-day; and then, on the other hand, do you know any rich piece of land, the soil deep as your head, covered with sweet grass, and an orchard blooming above? if you know of these two things, in the first you behold *Nova Scotia* and the rest, and, in the last, you behold the *United States of America*; the latter inhabited, too, by free people, afraid of no governor nor any-body else; an hospitable people; a people like those of their forefathers who went from England; and not by a set of crouching creatures, afraid to have their licenses taken from them; afraid to speak, except in a whisper, unless it be to praise those who have the command of them, and who then may roar out like thunder.

But *why* should you go out of England at all? What should you go away for? You must still work for your bread; and those of you who may happen to try it, will remember what I tell you—that God has made no country so pleasant to live and to work in as England. To be sure, to avoid starvation, to avoid seeing a wife and children starve, a man would go any-where; but why should they starve here? Here is an abundance of food, and, as I have over and over again proved, here is an abundance of work. The coming harvest will prove, as indeed every harvest has proved, that there are not hands enough, instead of there being too many. Why should you, therefore,

quit your country, encounter the hardships of a sea voyage, put yourself under the command of a captain of a ship, face all the dangers of the seas, and, after all, still be compelled to work for your bread, and to endure heat and cold greater than you have ever known or even dreamed of? Any-thing, I allow, even death itself, is better than to live upon potatoes; but why need you live upon potatoes, if you be willing to work, while the land is loaded with corn and meat and butter and cheese? Your lot has been unbearable, to be sure; and it is far from being what it ought to be yet; but is this reform of Parliament to make *no change* in that lot? If it be not, to contempt and scorn I cast the Parliamentary Reform. It is to better your lot that I want the Reform, and if it effect not that purpose, foolish or roguish will be the man that praises it. But it will effect that purpose; it will make your lot better: have only a little patience: see what a reformed Parliament will do: you have borne long; bear a little longer: try a reformed Parliament, and do not suffer yourselves to be inveigled away by any of the land-jobbing crew of America, to pine out your lives on their sands and rocks and swamps; do not expose yourselves to perish amidst their snows, or to be smitten to the earth by the burnings of their sun.

With men who have money, especially money enough to live upon, or to purchase land or houses, or carry on business of any sort, and who have families coming up, and who do not wish to lose what they have, who do not wish to have it all taken away in tithes and taxes, the United States is the country, if their circumstances be such that they cannot wait for the effects of reform. I am myself a sort of *emigration board* for persons of this description; one of whom (whose letter I have not had time to answer) has six thousand pounds and a rising family, which six thousand pounds he wishes to keep for the use of that family. Let him go to New York, put out his money on mortgage on land, with judgment confessed (as is the custom of the

country). His interest will give him three hundred and fifty pounds a year, or one thousand nine hundred dollars: he may live at ten or fifteen miles from New York, amidst peach and cherry and apple orchards; may keep a carriage and suitable servants, and lay by a third of his interest to increase for his children. If he have a mind to be saving and live without show, his living will cost him less by one half than what he is compelled to pay in taxes in England. Within these three weeks, a gentleman came to me who has a wife and three small children, and could muster up eight hundred pounds to have in his pocket upon landing, and who, from the total decline of business here, saw ruin staring him in the face. He is now on his way to New York. He had not positively made up his mind as to whither he should go. I showed him the above *document from Demerara*. He started at the sound of the words *license* and *interdict*, and of punishment without trial and without being told for what; that decided him at once. Lord BROUGHAM, who is so anxious to instruct the people of England, as indeed Scotchmen generally are; he is so very anxious on this subject, that I am sure he will thank me for furnishing him with this piece of useful information, to be given to those whom he has taken under his care.

To conclude, my friends, my advice to you is, not to budge an inch from your home: this is your country; you have a right to be in it, and to have a good living in it; but, if your fancy lead you to roam abroad, go to no country but the United States of America; and go not to that in any but an *American ship, commanded by an American captain*. The poor emigrants from Sussex, when writing home to their friends, make this a particular point. They guard them against many inconveniences and evils; but they say over and over again, "If you do come, be sure not to come in any but an American ship and with an American captain." However, I, who have been in all these countries, advise you to stay where you are, and

to see what the reform of Parliament will do.

I am, my friends,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

DRAKEFORD, D., Austin-friars, broker.

MATTHEWS, J., Bristol, basket-maker.

WHITE, W., Newent, Gloucestershire, corn-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BASSETT, W., Dean-street, Soho, builder.

BERNARD, C., Calcutta, East Indies, merchant.

BUGG, J. H. and G., Spalding, Lincolnshire, bankers.

DENNETT, L., Poole, ironmonger.

GILES, W., Lad-lane, riband-warehouseman.

HARRAL, J. H., Leeds, fruiterer.

HODSON, S., Glossop, Derbyshire, Cotton-spinner.

JOHNSON, R., Liverpool, painter.

LITT, W. P., J. J. Harrison, and W. Harrison, Lime-street, merchants.

LLOYD, G., Stingo-l., St. Marylebone, brewer.

MARSH, I., Tutbury, Staffordshire, grocer.

RICHARDSON, W., Clementhorpe, Yorkshire, tanner.

TIMOTHY, J., and T. Dobson, Kidderminster, Worcestershire, and City-road, carpet-manufacturers.

WILLIAMS, W., St. Woollos, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

GOODE, J., Wilderness-row, St. John-street, engineer.

HUDSON, J., Norton, Leicestershire, grocer.

SHARP, D., Maldon, Essex, and Bow, Middlesex, cattle-dealer.

WYATT, F., Clifton, Gloucestershire, livery-stable keeper.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WILSON, J., Goldsmith-street, silkman.

BANKRUPTS.

BISHOP, E. W., George-street, Southampton-street, Pentonville, surveyor.

BROWN, J., Sheerness, Kent, and Tenby, Pembrokeshire, barge-owner.

CLARK, W., Ilford, Essex, victualler.

MOORE, W., and J. M'Craith, Liverpool, corn-merchants.

MOSES, T. M., Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, joiner.

OVERTON, J. L., Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire, builder.
PALMER, J., Birmingham, scrivener.
PATTISON, W., Wetherby, Yorkshire, spirit-merchant.
PAYNE, D. B., H. Hope, and G. H. Hope, Wells, Somersetshire, bankers.
PHILLIPS, J., Brook-street, Holborn, tobacco-nist.
LUKE, J., Mark-lane, wine-merchant.
SAYWELL, A., Queenborough, Kent, linen-draper.
TAPPER, H., Titchfield, Hampshire, inn-keeper.
TASKER, W., Waterhead-mill, Oldham, Lancashire, innkeeper.
WEST, T., and A. Brain, jun., Avon Colliery, Gloucestershire, coal-miners.
WILLSHER, W. and G., Oxford-st., bakers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 27.—Our arrivals, since this day sennight, of English wheat, barley, and peas, English and foreign seeds, foreign barley, Irish and foreign flour, have been limited; of foreign wheat and barley, English and foreign oats, English beans, and English malt and flour, tolerably good. This day's market was thinly attended both by London and country buyers, particularly the latter. The prevailing opinion seemed to be, that if extensive sales could have been effected, an abatement from 1s. to 2s. per quarter would have been pretty generally submitted to, on most kinds of grain; but as the transactions were chiefly confined to, "from hand to mouth bargains," the trade was, throughout, very dull, at but little, if any, variation from last Monday's quotations. In rye, bran, and Indian corn, little, if anything, is doing.

Wheat	50s. to 64s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	28s. to 32s.
— fine	34s. to 44s.
Peas, White	38s. to 46s.
— Boilers	36s. to 42s.
— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Small	40s. to 48s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 32s.
— Poland	26s. to 30s.
— Feed	21s. to 27s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 43s. to 45s.	
Pork, India, new... 125s. 0d. to 127s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 65s. 0d. to 67s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 88s. to —s.	
— Cork —s. to —s.	

Butter Limerick ..	86s. to —s.
— Waterford	86s. to —s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire....	60s. to 84s.
— Gloucester, Double..	60s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Single..	38s. to 48s.
— Edam	48s. to 52s.
— Gouda	44s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish.....	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—June 27.

This day's supply of sheep, lambs, and porkers, was rather limited; of beasts and fat calves, moderately good. The trade, with beef, veal, and pork, was very dull, at a depression of, in most instances, full 2d. per stone; with mutton and lamb somewhat brisk, at fully Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,465; sheep and lambs, 20,420; calves, 240; pigs, 220.

MARK-LANE.—Friday July 1.

The supplies this week are fair, the market very dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cents, shut.

Consols for Account, (Thursday,) 82½ 83.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

5. **THE WOODLANDS**; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

6. **YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA**.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

7. **PAPER AGAINST GOLD**; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

8. **TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY**; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

9. **SERMONS**.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

10. **POOR MAN'S FRIEND**. A new edition. Price 8d.

11. **THE LAW OF TURNPIKES**. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

12. **PROTESTANT "REFORMATION"** in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

13. **THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE**. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

14. **MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE**. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

15. **MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS**.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

16. **ROMAN HISTORY**, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar. Two Volumes. Price 13s. in boards.

17. **LETTERS FROM FRANCE**; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

18. **A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN**; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 2s. 6d.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

THE GALLERY OF 140 COMICALITIES, PRICE THREEPENCE.—ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY HEARTY LAUGHS FOR THREEPENCE!—All the engraved Comicalities which have appeared from time to time in **BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON**, One Hundred and Forty in number, which cost the Proprietors Seven Hundred and Thirty-five Pounds designing and engraving, are now to be purchased for Threepence! Printed on one sheet, containing twenty folio columns. Among them may be recognised many old friends with new faces, and served up with a sauce so piquant that the most stoical cannot resist their comic effect. They comprise 20 "Studies from Lavater," 9 "Monkeyana, or The Gambler's Progress," 16 "Old Nick's Diversions," 11 "Dramatic Illustrations," and 84 "Fancy Sketches." Such a concentration of frolic, wit, and humour, was never before offered to the public at such a price, and, judging from the effect already produced, they are recommended as the best antidote for the threatened visitation of the Cholera Morbus. To be had at the Office of **BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON**, 169 Strand, and of every Bookseller, Stationer, and News agent in the Kingdom for threepence! They are sold to the trade at two shillings for twelve, and unsold copies will be taken back, and the full price given if returned before the end of the year. As a material for the Scrap Book and Portfolio, and amusement in every public and private house in Great Britain, as well as an infallible cure for the Blue Devils, there has been nothing equal to them from the debarkation of Noah and his comical family down to the present period. This mine of amusement is to be purchased for Threepence!—* * * The publication of "The Gallery of Comicalities" commenced Friday, June 24, and has been continued without the least delay at No. 169 Strand, where the Office is open from Six in the morning till Nine at night.—Placards for windows.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.